614 /1/ Cancuc is a Tzeltal town of Chiapas, Mexico, whose
[101] social organization is based on exogamous patrilineal clans.
[776] These clans are intimately related to: 1) the nagual or guardian
[551] spirit, which is given the name of lab among the Indians of this
[613] region; 2) the native surnames that constitute the lineages within
[621] the clans; 3) the "barrios," as the Spanish chroniclers called the endogamous tribal subdivisions (called calpulli among the Aztecs and culibal in Cancuc); 4) the kinship system; and 5) the behavior.

614 All the individuals belonging to a clan consider themselves
601 "legitimate siblings" /Sp. "hermanos legítimos"/, using the terms that designate this class of relatives. This theoretical consanguineous kinship is expressed by means of the word chapomal -- a Cancuquero /a person from Cancuc/ calls another "brother" be-
614 cause he is his chapomal. This form of usage is indicative of
601 common ancestry, something that we were not able to clarify, as
124 our questions on this point only received answers that showed that
829 they had lost any notion of a real or mythical ancestor. Our informants invariably explained this situation with the expressions: "it is the custom," "San Juan /Saint John/ (Patron Saint of Cancuc) ordered it so," or "it was ordered by Manuel (God)." What does constitute a clear concept in the minds of all is that "formerly" each clan lived in a cave, from which its members went out in the form of human beings to populate the earth and in which lived the naguales, or lab, that bound them to their place of origin.
[775] The soul came back to this cave after death. There are as many caves as the number of clans.

614 The children belonged to the paternal clan. A woman who marries does not become a member of the clan of her husband.

/2/ Exogamy is strictly respected; persons belonging to the same clan never marry each other.

[591] The clans are not local, as their members live in all of the places and rancherias.

[178] At present the clans lack chiefs, this institution having dis-
[669] appeared about 30 years ago, according to all our information, when the zone that we are studying underwent a chaotic period due to political revolts.

2: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938) 1939 MV9 Tzeltal MV9

NOTES ON THE ETHNOGRAPHY OF TZELTAL COMMUNITIES OF CHIAPAS

In February and March of 1938, Alfonso Villa Rojas made an ethnological reconnaissance of Tzeltal settlements in northeastern Chiapas, Mexico. The work was done under the auspices of Carnegie Institution of Washington as a guide to the planning of more intensive field work. San Cristobal de las Casas, where Mr. Villa arrived on the first of February, served naturally as a base. A short trip was taken to Teopizca and Amatenango, and a second to visit the ruins of San Gregorio [1] and the village of Chanal. On the fourteenth of that month, Mr. Villa started northward from Las Casas, visiting fifteen Tzeltal settlements, and then entered Chol country at Tila and left Chiapas by airplane from Salto de Agua.

In Mexico City Mr. Villa was provided with a letter of introduction from Ing. Ignacio Marquina, head of the Department of Prehistoric Monuments, of the Secretariat of Public Education. In Tuxtla Gutierrez the Governor of Chiapas, Ing. Efrain Gutierrez, received Mr. Villa and heard from him explanation of Mr. Villa's interests and purposes. Mr. Frans Blom had given Mr. Villa a letter of introduction, but the person addressed was not in Las Casas when Mr. Villa arrived. In Las Casas Mr. Villa received great help from Don José Villanueva. To all these persons who extended kindness and help, grateful acknowledgment is made. Dr. Ruth Bunzel kindly wrote information on the region to Mr. Villa before he began his journey.

The Tzeltal communities, given in the order in which they were visited and with indication of the length of time spent in each, were as follows: Amatenango (2 days), Chanal (2 days), Tenejapa (3 days), Cancuc (1 day), Oxchuc (5 days), San Martin (1 day), Tenango (2 days), Sivacá (1 day), Ococingo (6 days), Bachajón (2 days), Citalá (2 days), Guaquitepec (2½ days), Chilón (2 days), Yajalón (2 days), Petalcingo (½ day).

These villages have been the locus of a number of Indian uprisings,[2] and disturbances have occurred recently, in 1914, 1917, and 1930. Therefore the inhabitants of Spanish culture (Ladinos) are not infrequently uneasy. In Cancuc and Oxchuc Mr. Villa's work was impeded by a revival of this uneasiness, the Ladinos fearing that the celebrations of the carnival season might lead the Indians to acts of violence. With this exception, however, Mr. Villa found the Indians accessible and conditions of work favorable. The information reported herein was obtained in almost every instance from Indians, not Ladinos. Mr. Villa used an interpreter in cases where the Indians did not speak Spanish; although he has a command of Yucatec, and has done ethnological work in Yucatan,[3] he does not speak Tzeltal.

The notes Starr [4] collected on the Tzeltal in 1901 were apparently [5] obtained

[1] For a short description of these ruins, see Schuman, 1936, pp. 296–305.
[2] Vicente Pineda, 1888.
[3] Redfield and Villa, 1934.
[4] Starr, 1902.
[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 69–72.

2: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938) 1939 NV: Tzeltal NV9

As is the case in the highlands of Guatemala, the outstanding social unit, corresponding to a tribe, is the population of several hundred or several thousand Indians whose activities center in one leading settlement from which the community gets its name. As in Guatemala, these communities vary greatly with respect to the proportion of Indians living permanently in this central settlement. Dr. Tax[*] uses the phrase "town nucleus type" for Guatemalan Indian communities in which all or a large majority of the Indians live in the principal settlement, and the phrase "vacant town type" for those in which most of the Indians live in scattered rural habitations, coming to the town center occasionally for commercial, governmental, or festal reasons. Among the Tzeltals the town-nucleus type is less atypical than it is in Guatemala, and the town-nucleus communities are suffering from a scarcity of land. The following communities may be regarded as of this type: Amatenango, San Martín, Tenango, Sivacá, Petalcingo, and probably also Chanal and Citalá, although at least in the case of the last two, there are also considerable numbers of Indians dwelling in the countryside. The vacant-town type of community is represented by Cancuc, Oxchuc, Bachajón, and Chilón. It will be seen that both types are represented in both highlands and lowlands. With respect to this classification Tenejapa, Guaquitepec, and Yajalon are intermediate, and illustrate Tax's "Type III" in that many of the people live in the town and work their fields closely surrounding it, while many live on their farms and only occasionally come to town.

As in the highlands of Guatemala, the ethnic distinction between Indian and Ladino is marked, here also the Ladinos are much outnumbered by the Indians, and here too the Ladinos are very predominately town-dwellers. In Chilón and Yajalón the permanent town-dwellers are chiefly Ladinos; the permanent population of Oxchuc consists of about seventy Ladino families; the several thousand Indians live about the town and in the country. In other towns (Tenejapa,[**] Citalá, Guaquitepec, and Petalcingo) a considerable number of Ladino families have become established, although in these communities there are more Indians even among the inhabitants of the town itself, than there are Ladinos. A general disposition to exclude Ladinos from permanent settlement in Indian communities is most marked in Cancuc, the site of the uprising of 1712,[***] and where in 1935 some Ladino merchants were slain by the Indians. No Ladinos reside there now. In Amatenango, Chanal, Bachajón, San Martín, Tenango, and Sivacá the Indians are also unfavorable to settlement by Ladinos; in each of the three last-named villages the only Ladino residents are the school-teacher and the government-imposed municipal agent. Recently a few Ladino tradespeople have settled in Bachajón, and a "Center of Native Education" has been established there (as also at Amatenango) by the Mexican national government. In the lowland towns of

[*] Tax, 1937, pp. 42, 144.

[**] It is interesting that in Tenejapa, where both Indians and Ladinos live in town, the two groups recognize different town patron saints, and there are separate schools for Indians and for Ladinos, whereas in Oxchuc, where all the Indians live outside the town, the same saints are worshipped by both groups, but the Ladinos maintain their own celebrations on the day of the festival.

[***] Vicente Pineda, 1888.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

224 411 The Chief weapon used in hunting is the muzzle-loading smooth-bore gun, really a shot-gun, usually loaded with shot. Both flint-locks and percussion caps are known, and occasionally match-locks are made by the Indians themselves, the barrels being bought in the towns, or taken from old guns. Powder is carried in a cow's horn, which sometimes also serves as a flask.

Wild boar is sometimes hunted with spears, *mojara,* made of sticks with points hardened in the fire, although iron-headed spears are known, having been used in the Uprising of 1868. The latter form, however, does not appear to be made at present. Spears left over from the Uprising are highly valued and cannot be bought. [669] That they were brought out of hiding during a period of unrest at Bachajon in 1915 is considered one of the proofs that a real revolt was planned at that time.

224 231 Dogs take part in the chase, their use being connected with some curious superstitions. It is a common practice in Mexico to cut a

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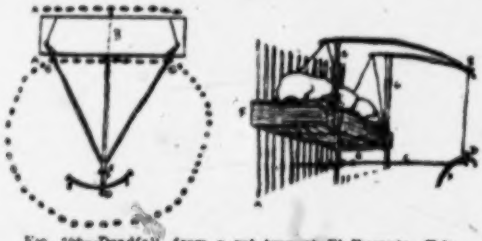

FIG. 308.—Deadfall, from a rat trap at El Encanto, Chis. A. Plan. B. Sketch of essential parts.

224 231 piece off a dog's ear and keep it in the house if he shows a tendency to roam, or to go hunting alone. If he will not follow a trail, a similar piece is cut off and thrown on it. The Indians keep jaw-bones or other trophies of animals killed with the dogs' help hung in a conspicuous place under the eaves of the house; the object being to remind the dogs of their achievements, and to keep them from losing heart during a period of no hunting.

223 Birds, as well as being hunted, are caught with snares and with limed twigs.

224 Dead-falls, *yakul,* are used to trap animals, both for game, and to protect the fields. They are substantially all of one pattern, the drawing for which was taken from a rat-trap in the house at El Encanto (fig. 308). The deadfall consists essentially of a log, F, weighted with stones, held suspended in two slings, which hang from the ends of two sticks, EE, resting over two forked uprights, GG. The two sticks cross each other at the further end, where they are

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Cancuc

boulders with care. It still is broad in most places, and has reasonable grades. We climbed to a rather desolate upland of wind-swept grass with a few crooked trees. There was some traffic on the road. We passed a group of Tenejapeños going down to the hot country to carry sugar. The men were ragged and woolly, like those we had seen at Salto de Agua, and their women, in short blue skirts and white blouses gorgeously ornamented with gold and crimson silk, were remarkable for their very pink cheeks showing through dark brown colouring.

The town of Cancuc (*kank'uk*) lies on the rounded shoulder of a long ridge that juts up above the high moors commanding a tremendous view North, West, and South over a jumbled mass of mountain ranges, like a herd of great elephants shouldering away to the horizon. A wind blows day and night, the trees are small and stunted, and the general effect is one of bleakness and height. At an altitude of 1,440 meters, with the unresting wind, it is always cold. The highroad climbs from a ravine up into the village where a small plaza is laid out on a level place. On our left was the big, white church, still well preserved. Opposite it, the Cabildo surprised us, a neat building with tile roof and white columned portico, built in President Diaz' time. Round about were some tumbling and ruined huts, and behind, the village rose on rough terraces crudely faced with stone.

Cancuc has a stormy history. It was the center of the famous rebellion of 1712, the subject of Brinton's "Maria Candelaria."* According to Starr (1904) who passed through here, there is a tradition that the men's long hair, covering their ears, is so worn in memory of the clipped ears which their ancestors received at that time. Recently, there has been political dissension in the form of a dragging feud, and a series of small fights and murders has resulted in those left of the defeated party abandoning the village and setting up their houses in the bush. It is from this that one sees so many huts deserted and beginning to disintegrate, adding to the general cheerless aspect of the place.

We were well received at the Cabildo, where the village officials with their silver-headed canes turned up shortly to look us over. They were younger men than most of the officials we had met previously, and a pretty tough looking crew, much what one would expect of a group that had attained office largely by means of the machete. The people on the whole rather resemble the Bachajon physically, being of a small-limbed type with an average height for men of about 160 centimeters, and nearly beardless. The men wear tunics cut as at Tenango, but decorated with red and yellow em-

*Brinton, 1887; Pineda, 1888.

175 648 under the administrative jurisdiction of the Provincia de los Llanos.[1] They were, and still are, part of the same Curato of [193] the local Catholic Church, which was under secular clergy, as opposed to most villages in the area which were under Dominican jurisdiction. Up until 1854 they were subjected to the same changes with respect to the administrative districts of the State of Chiapas (districts which were rearranged practically every time 175 there was a change of government). In 1854, however, the local 621 districts were reorganized into Municipalidades (the closest 648 631 English equivalent being a county); Amatenango became attached to Teopisca, the nearest Ladino-Indian town, as a part of the ninth Municipio, while Aguacatenango became dependent upon the fourth Municipio of Comitan, together with the towns of San Bartolomé (also a mixed Ladino-Indian town), Totolapa and Concordia (Trens, 1942).

631 621 At the present time Amatenango is an independent Municipio, having been separated from Teopisca in 1937, while Aguacatenango is an Agencia of the Municipio of Venustiano Carranza. Both com- [692] munities are, however, attached to the equivalent ladino towns in [651] similar ways because of their economic dependence, because such disputes as are not solved within the confines of the village are sent to the juzados of the towns, and because the offices of the Tax Collectors and Ejidos are situated in these ladino towns.

175 669 621 631 Neither of the two communities became directly involved in the Indian Uprisings of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries,

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[1] San Bartolome de los Llanos; today known as Venustiano Carranza.

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

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169 called by the historians the Wars of the Castes (Pineda, 1888;
621 Molina, C., 1934; Kline, H., 1960), and both of them voted to join
631 Mexico when the State of Chiapas was contemplating annexation to either Mexico or Guatemala (Trens, 1942:274).

TABLE 2

175 631 621 AMATENANGO AND AGUATENANGO: POLITICAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE JURISDICTIONS

Time	Amatenango	Aguacatenango
1600 to 1778	Obispado de Ciudad Real Provincia de los Llanos	
1829	Departamento del Sur Partido de los Llanos	
1844	Distrito del Centro Partido de Las Casas o San Cristobal	
1854	Municipio de San Cristobal 9th Municipio	Distrito de Comitan 4th Municipio
1937-1958	Municipio de Amatenango	Municipio de V. Carranza

175 177 286 In the end of the eighteenth century (1792) the Bishop Francisco Gabriel de Olivares y Benito tried to specialize Amatenango, Teopisca and Aguacatenango as small textile centers (cotton) by giving the weaving materials to widows and young female children to process and sell. A school for the training of weavers [874] was established in the same year, but the project ended unsuccessfully in the beginning of the nineteenth century (Trens, 1942: 175-6).